2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

Citalá, Guaquitepec, Chilón, Yajalón, and Petalcingo relations between Indians and Ladinos are more friendly, and the Indians are regarded as milder and more tractable.

Of the strongly Indian towns, Cancuc is the most conservative, Chanal the most progressive

In respect to official political organization, these villages are divided according to their importance and the number of their inhabitants, into free municipalities (*municipios libres*) and dependent municipalities (*agencias municipales*). The former are those which have the right to choose their own government, upon which formal administration depends. To this category belong Amatenango, Chanal, Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Ococingo, Chilón, and Bachajón. Until a short time ago the municipal governments of these settlements were composed of Ladinos in the principal posts and of Indians in the subordinate positions. At the present time the government is seeking to reverse this situation so that the Indians have the greater authority; it is for this reason that the governments of the four villages first mentioned are now headed by Indians. This change has brought about marked alterations in certain places in the social equilibrium that before existed between the two ethnic elements which compose the population.

Villages of the latter category are those which depend, in administrative matters, on a free municipality. In these cases authority is represented in the first place by the *agente municipal*, who is named by the central municipal government. This post is always discharged by a Ladino. In most instances the municipal agent compensates for the meagerness of his salary by controlling the sale of rum in the village which he administers. The other members of the municipal government are chosen almost always from the Indian group.

In several of the highland communities, notably Amatenango, Chanal, and, to a much less extent, Tenejapa, the Indian grows (in addition to the universal maize) a certain amount of wheat for export; the Ladinos of Oxchuc cultivate this crop, but in Cancuc, where there are no Ladinos, wheat is not grown. (Wheat is also grown in the Tzotzil towns of Chamula and Huistan.) Other money crops of the highlands are chick-peas, peas, oranges, and other fruit. Some coffee is grown in San Martín; it is the principal export from Yajalón and Petalcingo. In Bachajón, Citalá, Guaquitepec, and Chilón a principal produce is brown sugar, made locally from sugar cane locally raised. Cancuc is the only village that cultivates cotton commercially; the production in the other communities is insignificant. The local manufacture of loom-woven clothing is rapidly disappearing. Most Tzeltal communities are without beehives, but there is considerable apiculture in Sivacá, and a little beekeeping is also practised in Tenango, Bachajón, and Yajalón. Apparently the bees kept are wild colonies brought to the villages in the sections of hollow log they are made to inhabit. The raising of hogs and poultry is a principal economic recourse in all the Indian settlements. The beef cattle industry has always been in the hands of Ladinos; however, recently the Government, acting through the Centers of Native Education, has sought to stimulate the industry among the Indians.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the [177] community. In the most conservative groups [181] (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage, it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 According to a document dated 1861, 423 which I found in the possession of the 613 Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez 614 clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

787 776 been taken away by the local authorities and sent to the Indians' Affairs Office in San Cristobal.

Life Cycle

842 183 *Pregnancy and Childbirth*

The strongest desire of every Tzeltal couple is to create a numerous family, preferably boys. The relationship between sexual intercourse and pregnancy is well understood among the Indians. They know that pregnancy lasts nine months and they keep a good count of it. On the other hand, there are ideas about the possibility of the woman being influenced by old men or "the owners of the nagual," who can interrupt pregnancy and change the fetus from one woman to another. This is why a woman who thinks she is pregnant for three or four months suddenly realizes that she carries nothing any more, while another one, maybe her neighbor, finds herself in advanced pregnancy, giving birth a few months later. It is to be stressed, however, that these changes can take place only among married women.

843 [833] 843 789

844 [81] In conservative villages (Tenejapa, Oxchuc, Cancuc) there is no professional midwife. Children are delivered by the oldest women in the neighborhood.

[757] [237] When labor begins, the first thing is to give the mother a beverage made of powdered opossum tail dissolved in boiling water. It is very common for Indians to have a dry tail hanging next the fireplace. The woman kneels at labor, facing the midwife. The husband's belt or the woman's rebozo is tied very tightly around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the child from "going up again." The mother can also help herself by seizing a rope tied to the roof, or taking firm hold of any post of the house. The umbilical cord is chopped with a machete or cut with scissors, supported on an ear of corn. This ear is afterwards used as seed and is considered very fertile.

[241] [824]

[757] When labor has finished, the mother is given another hot beverage of pepper,

[P 223-B]

mate butt of any joke, contemptible, and with no inherent rights. The native ceremonies and beliefs, even when closely parallel to their own, are considered mere ignorant superstitions. Only what is definitely Catholic is respected. Small shrines may be desecrated at will. Behind all this, mindful of past uprisings, lies a certain amount of definite fear of the subject people. There are, of course, many exceptions, especially among the more intelligent ranchers who from their patriarchal position or intimate relations have come to understand the natives as human beings.

The effect of all this on the Indian is suspicion of the ruling class, reluctance to impart information, distrust of friendly overtures. If one hails an Indian in the streets of a town, he will frequently run away. Once convinced, however, that an individual actually likes them, and is genuinely interested in them, their response is warm. We received many small favours and acts of friendship in notoriously hostile villages.

Fig. 203—El Real, Chis. Tzeltal girls.

In their culture these people belong to the general type characteristic of all Southern Mexico and at least the nearer parts of Guatemala. They depend primarily upon farming for their livelihood, with corn as the staple crop. Calabashes, melons, beans, tobacco, bananas, and cotton are raised. The farming is carried on by the same wasteful "milpa system" that has been described in Chapter XI, the old Maya method that was eventually responsible for the abandonment of many cities. In the case of the Bachajon, it has already become one cause for deserting their villages. The chief food is dried corn boiled with lime and ground by the women on the stone metates which were described in dealing with the Indians of San Martín Pajapa. It then may be baked on a flat griddle, making tortillas, or kept to drink with water as *posole*. The one universal tool and weapon is the machete, varying in form from tribe to tribe, but always made by Collins & Co., of Hartford—part of one of the most amazing industries in the world.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

796 182 829 tions betray the intent. As he is hauled up by ropes and hung from the bell tower "to show the world that he killed Christ," the mayordomos on the ground who are assisting those up in the bell tower jab him with long poles. In this horseplay they symbolically castrate him: I heard one mayordomo say, *"Me?ĕunun,"* (transvestite) as one well-directed blow struck Judas. On Saturday, he is let down and given a ride on horseback around town. Formerly riding a horse was the prerogative only of Ladinos in the department of San Cristóbal Las Casas (Colby and Van den Berghe 1961). Placing Judas on a horse possibly has a symbolic value in identifying him as one of the hated dominant group who asserted this privilege. [794] As he rides around town, the mayordomos solicit gifts from the people. [756] Everyone gives fruits except the curers, who donate money. This transac- [754] tion may indicate an obligation they feel toward Judas as one source of their power over witchcraft-derived illnesses. The money is used to buy liquor, called the "washing of the arms and legs of our Lord Eskipulas." The drinking is mandatory for all the mayordomos who have participated in the hanging of Judas.

The Judas figure, which was the church's symbol of the hated Semite, is made to appear as the enemy of the Indians, the Ladino. He symbolizes the sexual license of Ladinos with Indian women, the oppression of Indians by Ladinos, and the killer of Christ. In retaliation, the Indian symbolically castrate and hang him, and finally burn his body, thus dramati- [793] cally vanquishing the alien in their midst. So far as I know, the priest is unaware of the identification Indians make between the Jew and the Ladino. He prevented the ride from taking place the year I witnessed the Easter Week ceremonial on grounds that it was a pagan ritual; when he left town on Sunday, the mayordomos took Judas on his customary rounds.

796 776 182 829 The attitude toward Jesus, as the hero of the morality play, is ambivalent. Martyrdom is not the way to win in Indian society. The feeling is that power goes to the one who makes the sacrifice, and since Jesus was a Ladino sacrifice, they have more power than the Indians. During the [181] Caste War in Chiapas in 1868, the Indians crucified an Indian youth in [782] the hope that they would find a savior as powerful as Jesus. To this day, [175] Indians of To?ontahal seem not to identify Jesus as one of themselves,

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

permission to extend operations to hot country where the Indians of the town held ejido land. This territory had been controlled by the state-wide trucking sindicate whose monopoly was protected by government permits. On the basis that they were poor, nonprofit-making ejidatarios, the Indians were granted the right to truck corn from the ejido colonies to the highlands. Whenever the cooperative leaders planned to go to the departmental capital to make their appeals, the schoolmaster counseled them to wear their Indian costume—the white shirt and pants with red sash, sandals, and woolen kotonču—in order to play the role of simple campesinos more convincingly. He was aware of the effectiveness of this pose in pro-Indian governmental circles.

The PRI leadership in the department capital is neither aware of nor interested in the local factions which seek their support. Their concern is only that the vote is solidly behind regional and national candidates of the party, and they support the group that can mobilize the largest number of votes. A policy of favoritism toward Indians, based on an ideology of *indigenismo,* pro-Indianism, is coupled with a policy of permitting local autonomy. The national committee's program for promoting literacy has never reached this community nor any that I know of in the area. The party's promotion of Indian welfare consists of supporting demands made by Indian constituents and bringing them to the attention of civil service officials assigned to these functions. Party officials thus act as intermediaries between the voters and the bureaucracy of the government, channeling complaints and demands.

In the development of factions around new economic interests, the Indians have shifted from an ideology in which the dialectic of conflict was cast in traditional dual-division opposition to one in which the conflict is seen as Indian versus Ladino domination of enterprises. Since these interests cut across the territorial divisions, the economic factions have not crystallized along territorial lines. It is this shift in perspective which makes for the "qualitative" change in local political organization.

Competition between Caciques

There are several dimensions to the role of cacique in Tzo'ontahal. First, it is a role created by outside interests and occupied by someone mar-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

571 805 [584] is accepted. Precipitous action on either side reveals a weakness of which the other party might take advantage, or which might even stop procedures.

Timing of activities is so specific that it can be read as an equation of social relations: People who come to the house after nightfall are either intimate members of the family, or are members of the circle of me?tiktatik invited for a special household celebration—night is the time when spirits wander, not a time for casual visiting. Arrival of the betrothal party at the [584] house of the girl's parents after ten o'clock in the morning indicates that the suit has been accepted.

571 805 554 562 Sequential timing expresses relative prestige and a sense of priority. In "raising" the officials for the official ceremonies, the lowest ranks of officials rise first to go to the house and awaken each of their companions in order of rank. The sequence in serving order has already been discussed with respect to rank and prestige. Another principle of sequence operates at a more subtle level: women go before men when there is expectation of a fight since their presence evokes less hostility. This is evident in the be- [584] trothal: the me? č'om precedes the mam c'om in the initial proceedings [579] when strong resistance and hostility is anticipated. When drunken fights start during house ceremonies, women intercede with calming effect.

641 829 805 Time always is on the side of the Indians when they wish to resist national orders. Verbal agreements to pay fines imposed or to assist federal agents in the capture of criminals are frequently followed by deliberate negligence in carrying out the orders. Usually the order is forgotten or in- [647] terest wanes at a higher level. Government agencies such as the INI learned to bide their time much as the Indians did. Expecting opposition to any proposed change, they waited for the initial reaction to die down, and then proceeded as support from those who benefited overcame internal resistence.

461 464 512 805 When called upon to perform jobs that require regular appointments, the Indians respond easily to the daily scheduling. Resistance comes against scheduled requirements that involve long spans of time and interfere with communal and familial ceremonies. Work away from home is undertaken only on the premise that it will be of limited duration. This [181] control over their own time is a value which Indians will not easily yield.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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These time and space patterns provide the individual with a cognitive structure which enables him to function appropriately in a given setting and to plan his future actions. Having one piece of information, people can derive the other understandings necessary to adjust their own behavior to the expectations of others.

Time as a measure of value has been affected by changes occurring in the past two decades. Men are less willing to expend time in ceremonial activities than formerly. The first ceremony given up was Carnival, which has not been celebrated for over a decade. Most recently, young men have refused to become alfereces, and their resistance on the basis of loss of time and money was formally recognized in 1966 when the institution was abolished. The resistance parents used to show to their children spending, or wasting their time in school has given way as some of the more modernized parents have seen the advantages of education.

The tempo of life has accelerated with the increasing importance of bus and truck transportation to market. Women's time has always figured as importantly as that of the men because of their pottery production, and they have quickly accepted time-saving innovations such as the tortilla press and the corn-grinding mill. They have not shown any inclination to adopt time-saving technology, such as the potter's wheel, in pottery-making since they have no knowledge of it, and using it would require relearning basic tasks.

The ceremonial cycle still provides the major consideration in programming other activities in the community. The Indian as an agriculturalist remains master of his own time, and he plans his work so that he can fulfill his ceremonial obligations.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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Chapter 13

Belief and Behavior in a Changing Society

Continuity is the theme stressed in the rules of the game that apply to living in the square world of the community. The framework of continuity is the landscape itself with the ancestral hills and devils' caves reminding people of the moral order of the past. Repetitive behavior in rituals symbolically projects the past into the future, and behavioral schema in pottery and agricultural production reinforce the belief that all remains the same. The conditions making for change stem from the very attempts to preserve the existing equilibrium. A rising population on a limited land base using colonial techniques of cultivation is bringing about an increasing reliance on outside markets for the sale of labor and the purchase of goods. The ejido program which has perpetuated the system of subsistence cultivation has at the same time increased the dependency on external political influence and undermined dependency on parents. Some of the rules of strategy that have developed in response to changes coming from outside the community can no longer be justified by the beliefs that govern behavior within its boundaries. The community is now in crisis: people are losing faith in the old beliefs and have not yet developed a meaningful ideology for new strategies.

The crisis does not affect all institutions equally. It is absent in the traditional economic activities of milpa cultivation and pottery production. It is incipient in the households, especially where there are wage-workers in nonagricultural jobs. It is more apparent in the civil than in the religious sphere, and it is most manifest in the new economic activities. The school, as an externally imposed institution, generates awareness of the conflict between old beliefs and the ideology of nationalism, but until recently receptivity to these ideas has been limited. The behavior described for each in-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Summary and Conclusions

The preceding generalizations anticipate conclusions that will be stated in terms of the hypotheses raised in the Preface. 181 • 105 182

1. *The stability of the society varies directly with the efficiency of its procedures for adjusting conflict.* The rising homicide rate is a behavioral index to the breakdown in procedures for adjusting conflict. The elders and cures still officiate in rituals to settle conflict, but their judgments are no longer as effective in overcoming fear and suspicion. The principle of age-based authority on which their authority rests has been undermined by ejido lands giving married sons earlier independence from their fathers and by young leaders assuming positions of power in the civil authority. More dispute cases have been referred to the departmental courts in the 60s than in the 50s.

2. *The stability of the society varies directly with the ability to validate behavioral innovations in terms of existing values.* Leaders in the new economic enterprises and the political factions based on them have tried to justify their efforts by stressing the goal of increasing their independence from the Ladinos. Their attempt to develop an ideology emphasizing the need for cooperation to overcome the dominance of the Ladinos is handicapped by the rampant suspicions about other members of the community and pessimism about the chances of the cooperative to succeed in the wider world. The conflict in the individual between desire for improvement of his welfare and fear of exciting envy is exacerbated by each innovation that raises the level of living. The leader who was most explicit in formulating an ideology for adapting to the new, the entrepreneur Santos, was a victim of the conflict he tried to interpret. There is no expression of pan-Indianism that could support the goal of cultural separatism of Indians from Ladinos. Indigenismo is the ideology of national leaders who have left behind the cultural heritage they extol. The Indians of Tzo?ontahal are as suspicious of neighboring Indians as they are of Ladinos. The retreat into separate communities which has ensured their survival in the four and a half centuries of colonial rule and independence makes it difficult to mobilize

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

181 support for cultural independence as economic interdependence grows.

195 182 3. *The stability of the society varies directly with the effectiveness of its procedures for transforming old power positions into ceremonial posts.* The community demonstrated the effectiveness of its technique of cooling off old power-holders as new leader usurped the authority of the principales. The struggle going on between the curers and the new civil leadership had not been resolved in ceremonial absorption of the curers' power when I left the community. The community was ridding itself of these fear-provoking agents of the supernatural by resorting to homicide. The loss of the institution of the alférez marked the waning of these old techniques of ceremonially incorporating leadership into a traditional hierarchy and linking civil office with religious obligations.

4. *The lability of the society varies directly with the gap between expectations and experience.* The Indians condition themselves to expect the worst and so are not disappointed by it. They pray only that they may maintain a given level of suffering and poverty. They are not caught up in that revolution of rising expectations that makes for discontent when experience does not match them. The Indians know they [175] are better off than they were, and they contrast their present prosperity [731] with the famine of 1915 when revolution and banditry depleted their crops and cattle, and with the typhoid epidemic of 1928 when hundreds died and the rest did not have the money to bury them properly. An attitude of pessimism about the future limits the problem of adjusting to it or of making adaptations to improve it. One could predict neither revolution nor moral collapse.

5. *The lability of the society varies directly with the degree of dissonance between traditional and contemporary interpretations of events.* The old explanations are still applied to current events. Disaster is blamed on individual or communal failure to carry out ceremonials. Sickness and death are attributed to witchcraft motivated by envy or malice. The paranoic theories of human nature are confirmed by every illness or death that occurs, Even the gods are characterized as envious and vindictive. Containment of blame for misfortune within the community minimizes the political involvement of Indians in the wider society and limits the changes that might affect them.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The material conditions making for equilibrium are breaking down within the community, but the failure for protest to develop means that old beliefs are not challenged by new ideologies. Adaptations and adjustments made in response to changes are still forced into this framework of understandings and expectations. But without any stated changes in belief, Indians are themselves transforming the internal structure of the society by undermining the old gerontocracy and shifting the locus of power to the innovating young men. A binary model of change that poses a transformation from traditional to modern might ignore these internal changes that maintain a given equilibrium intact but that provide a reordering of power making possible a successful adaptation to larger social orders. Tzo'ontahal is a case in point proving that the external conditions are not sufficient to explain fundamental restructuring of the society. People continue to act out a faith in the ways of the ancestors at the same time that adjustments and adaptations are made in response to increasing interdependence in regional and national institutions. The same framework of government is retained as shifts of power give scope to a new kind of leadership. Continuity in forms has the positive effect of preserving a sense of security. The social costs are a slowing down of adaptive responses and a high investment in the "ceremonial fund" (Wolf 1966). The benefits can only be measured by comparison with cultures that have lost these controls.

The universal problem which this community is in the process of working out has been stated by G. H. Mead (1938:22): "How is a society to find a method for changing its own institutions and still preserve the security of those institutions?" The present phrasing of the problem in the community is: "How can we preserve the solutions of the past and apply them to the present?" So long as the problem is phrased in this way, the solution is to exile or kill the deviants or innovators who attempt fundamental change. The threat of witchcraft continues to maintain conformity, and fear subverts the search for an ideology to phrase behavioral adjustments and adaptations in such a way that they will be congruent with future goals. Such an ideology cannot be imposed. Only the people themselves can work out the ways in which meaning and understanding are given to technological and social change.

[P 332 is blank]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

184 Amatenango both men and women derive their rights to reside in
591
592 particular homesteads through both marriage or birth, as alternate choices.

592 The economic system in itself is not an independent vari-
591 able. Given its present shape, decisions about where to live,
571
181 changes in the composition of the domestic group at crucial points
602 in its development, and the strength of emotional ties between individuals are influenced by it. Most choices which concern the structuring of internal relations within the domestic unit are expressed by the cultural carriers as economic and kinship choices simultaneously, or in other words, as economic choices made within the framework offered by the kinship structure of the domestic unit.

Other factors, however, seem to perform no less important functions. Among these other factors, we have mentioned the following in separate parts of the previous text: (1) the position of the person within the kinship group which forms the core of the household; (2) the number of men and women residing in the unit; (3) the age of the household membership; (4) the temperament and attitudes of the household members with respect to each other; (5) the aspirations of the individual, in terms of the achievement of status, the insurance of positive affection and the need for psychological rewards; and (6) the laws of group interaction.

571 In order of intensity, the economic domain affects (1) the
592
621 individual's status within the family; (2) the membership and organization of the domestic group, both in terms of residence choices and the distribution of authority within the unit; (3) the